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# Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: S/S-O: PJOHNSON
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FOLLOWING REPEAT BRASILIA 7630 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BUENOS AIRES CARA
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CAS LIMA MEXICO TOKYO USUN OECD PARIS EC BRUSSELS GENEVA MTN GENEVA
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QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRASILIA 7630

DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY

E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, BR
SUBJECT: SECVISIT: SILVEIRA'S SPEECH TO 7TH UNGA SPECIAL SESSION:
SOME FIRST REFLECTIONS

REF: USUN 3859 (NOTEL)

1. SUMMARY: GEISEL ADMINISTRATION AND BRAZILIAN
PRESS CONSIDER FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA'S SPEECH TO
7TH SPECIAL SESSION A MAJOR BRAZILIAN INITIATIVE
DESIGNED A) TO ACHIEVE A COMMON DEMONIATOR AMONG THE
VARIOUS LDC PROSITIONS, AND B) TO BREAK THROUGH THE
MULTIPLICITY OFINTERNATIONAL FORA WHICH, IN GOB'S
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VIEW, IMPEDE THE EFFECTIVE ADDRESS OF LEGITIMATE LDC
DEMANDS. SILVEIRA SPEECH REPRESENTS SIGNIFICANT CHANGE
IN LOW-PROFILE POSTURE USUALLY ADOPTED BY BRAZIL IN
INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, BUT WHETHER THIS CHANGE IS

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TEMPORARY OR PEMANENT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. PROPOSAL --
AND PARTICULARLY TONEOF ITS PRESENTATION -- IS INTENDED,
IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, TO RECONCILE COMPETING BRAZILIAN
INTERESTS -- PRESENTING BRAZIL AS A MODERATE, RESPONSIBLE
LDC WHICH WHILE FULLY SUPPORTING THIRD WORLD
DEMANDS, TRIES TO DO SO IN A CONSTRUCTIVE AND REASONABLE
MANNER. DESPITE TONE OF REASONABLENESS, HOWEVER, IT
SEEMS CLEAR THAT BRAZILIAN PROPOSAL, SHOULD IT GAIN
MOMENTUM AND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE, WOULD JEOPARDIZE US
INITIATIVES, SUCH AS CONSUMER PRODUCER DIALOGUE. IN
VIEW OF IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY GEISEL ADMINISTRATION
TO THIS INITITATIVE, EMBASSY -- NOTWITHSTANDING THE
PROBLEMS BRAZILIAN PROPOSALS PRESENT FOR US APPROACH --
RECOMMENDS THAT US AVOID OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION OR A BROADLY
NEGATIVE REACTION, WHICH WOULD BE SEVERELY RESENTED BY THE GOB.
WITHOUT COMMITTING ITSELF ON SUBSTANCE, AND WHILE SEEKING
THROUGH APPROPRIATE DIPLOMATIC AND PARLIAMENTARY
MOVES TO BLOCK ITS ACCEPTANCE, US SHOULD MAINTAIN A
POSITIVE TONE TOWARD THE BRAZILIAN INITIATIVE AS
ONE AMONG MANY IDEAS BEFORE THE SEVENTH SPECIAL
SESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. BRAZILIAN PRESS THIS WEEKEND GAVE FRONT
PAGE BUILD-UP TO FOREIGN MINISTER'S SEPTEMBER 1
ADDRESS TO UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION. JORNAL DE
BRASILIA, IN LEAD ARTICLE ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 31, REFERS
TO THE SPEECH AS "A MOST DRAMTIC AND WELLPREPARED
INITIATIVE TO AWAKEN WORLD PUBLIC OPINION TO A BRAZILIAN
INITIATIVE IN THE AREA OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. PAPER NOTES
THAT SILVEIRA HAD REPORTEDLY WRITTEN IT PERSONALLY AND
THAT THE SPEECH HAD PRESIDENT GEISEL'S APPROVAL.
ITS ARTICLE PRESENTS THE SPEECH AS THE CULMINATION
IN THE LONG SERIES OF PROPOSALS MADE BY THE THIRD
WORLD TO CREAT A NEW INTERNATINAL ECONOMIC ORDER.
JORNAL DO BRASIL, IN ITS SEPTEMBER 1 ISSUE,
DESCRIBES THE SPEECH AS SEARCHING FOR A COMMON DEMONINATOR
AMONG THE CLAIMS AND POSITIONS OF THE DEVELOPING
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COUNTRIES, TO FORESTALL THAT THESE DEMANDS BE DILUTED
BY COMPETING INTERESTS OR BE LOST IN THE
MULTIPLICITY OF FORA IN WHICH THEY ARE BEING DEBATED
WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. THE TWO CENTRAL
IDEAS OF THE SPEECH, THE PAPER SAYS, ARE TO UNIFY AND
CONCENTRATE THE DEMANDS OF THE THIRD WORLD IN ORDER
TO OBTAIN EFFECTIVE RESULTSMORE QUICKLY THROUGH GENERAL
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEINDUSTRIAL BLOC -- IDEAS WHICHARE
ENCOUNTERING SOME OPPOSTION FROMCONTRIES
STILL OVERLYCONCERNED WITH THEIR OWN SPECIAL ECONOMIC
AND COMMERCIALINTERESTS OR WHICH PROMOTE THE PROLIFERATION OF
DEBATE ON DIFFERENT LEVELS AND IN DIFFERENT

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FORA. SUNDAY EDITION OF O ESTADO DE SAO
PAULO, AUGUST 31, IN A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE, CHARACTERIZES
SPEECH AS A STATEMENT WHICH IS EXPECTED TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE
IMPACT, AND WHICH WILL REITERATE BRAZIL'S
POSITION THAT THEREIS URGENT NEED FOR A
REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.
THE PAPER ALSO NOTED SILVEIRA'S RECENT AFFIRMATIONS
IN BRASILIA THAT IT WAS AN ERROR TO THINK THAT WORLD
PEACE AND POLITICAL SECURITY CANBE OBTAINED
THROUGH THE STRATIFICATION OF AN EQUILIBRIUM
OF POWER ATTAINED FOR THE BENEFIT OF A FEW COUNTRIES
WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE
MAJORITY.

3. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, THESE PRESS COMMENTS ARE A GOOD
SUMMARY OF SOME OF THE BRAZILIAN MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES
UNDERLYING THE SILVEIRA SPEECH. IN ESSENCE, THE
SPEECH IS OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANE IN THREE RESPECTS:
(A) IT WOULD CREATE A MORE AUSPTICIOUS SETTING FOR
THE MORE RADICAL AND FAR-REACHING LDC DEMANDS:
CONTRACTUALLY BINDING GUIDELINES AND INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE ISSUED
TO OTHER NEGOTIATING FORA BY A POLITICAL BODY DOMINATED BY THE LDC'S.
DESPITE ITS TONE OF REASONABLENESS AND EMPHASIS ON
NON-CONFRONTATION, THE PROPOSAL THUS AIMS AT RESHAPING
THE POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT, IN WHICH
DC-LDC DIFFERENCES ARE NOW NEGOTIATED -- AND AT CUTTING
THROUGH THE MANY INSTITUTIONAL BAFFLES IMPEDING THE
ASSERTION OF THE MORE SWEEPING OF THESE DEMANDS.
(B) IT MEETS THE VARIOUS POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS
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CONFRONTING THE GOB IN AN INITIATIVE OF THIS KIND --
BRAZIL, STANDING FORTH AS A RESPONSIBLE LDC,
SUPPORTING THIRD WORLD DEMANDS BUT SEEKING TO BRIDGE
DC-LDC DIFFERENCES, ADVANCING APPARENTLY CONSTRUCTIVE,
RELATIVELY MODERATE PROPOSALS TO THOSE ENDS.
(C) IT REPRESENTS AN APPARENT SHIFT IN BRAZILIAN
POLICY AT INTERNATINAL MEETINGS-- WHETHER TEMPORARY
OR PERMANENT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. IN CONTRAST WITH
THELOW PROFILE WHICH BRAZIL HAS BEEN MAINTAINING IN
CONROVERSIAL INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS CONCERNED WITH
DC-LDC RELATIONS,THE GOB THIS TIME HAS TAKEN FULL
ADVANTAGE OF ITS TRANDITIONAL POSITION ON THE SPEAKERS'
LIST. WHILE THERE HAD BEEN SOMEHINTS OF A CHANGE IN
POSTURE (BRASILIA'S 6311), THE EXTENT OF THE CHANGE WAS UNEXPECTED.
IT REMAINS UNCERTAIN AT THIS TIME WHETHER THIS NEW
INITIATIVE REPRESENTS A ONE TIME EFFORT - BECAUSE
OF THE NEED TO AFFIRM BRAZIL'S LDC CREDENTIALS IN THE
7TH SS -- OR MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A MORE ACTIVIST
STANCE IN INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND, INDEED,
THE CONDUCT OF BRAZIL'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. (WHILE

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PROBABLY A COINCIDENCE, IT IS WORTH NOTING
THAT THIS PAST WEEK THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE ALSO
ANNOUNCED PRESIDENT GEISEL PLANS TO MAKE A
GLOBE-GIRDLING TOUR IN EARLY 1976 WHICH WILL COMBINE
STATE VISITS TO JAPAN AND FRANCE.)

4. IN ADVANCING THESE PROPOSALS, BRAZIL CONSCIOUSLY
DECIDED TO RUN SOME RISKS -- TO IRRITATE
THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES AND THE CONSERVATIVE INTERNATIONAL
FINANCIAL AND INVESTMENT COMMUNITY
ON WHICH IT REMAINS SO HEAVILY DEPENDENT GIVEN ITS
PROGRESSIVELY WEAKER BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION:
AND, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE NON-ALIGNED MANY OF WHICH KWILL
FIND THE BRAZILIAN PROPOSALS TOO LIMITED AND TECHNICAL
AND THE TONE OF THE BRAZILIAN PRESENTATION TOO MODERATE.
(IN ITS EDITION ON AUGUST 31, O ESTADO REPORTS THAT
BRAZIL TOOK PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS AT THE NON-ALIGNED
CONFERENCE IN LIMA AND THAT THE RECEPTION OF THE
PROPOSALS WAS NOT VERY FAVORABLE: NON- ALIGNED REACTION WAS
THAT THIS TYPE OF PROPOSAL WAS MORE APPROPRIATE FOR A
TECHNICAL FORUM SUCH AS THE GATT THAN A POLITICAL
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FORUM LIKE THE UNGA.) SILVEIRA AND HIS ADVISERS
PROBABLY RECOGNIZED THIS BUT HOPE THAT THEIR POROPOSAL
MIGHT EMERGE AT THE SPECIAL SESSIONAS A COMPROMISE FORMULA FROM
AN EXPECTED DC-LDC IMPASSE.

5. BRAZIL HAS MADE APROPOSAL WHICH COULD RAISE BASIC PROBLEMS FOR
OUR POLICY ON DC-LDC RELATIONS:
(A) THE PROPOSAL IS NOT IN FACT A VIABLE ONE: A
HIGHLY POLITICIZED BODY, DOMINATED BY THE
RADICAL LDC'S, SET UP AND ORGANIZED BY THE UNGA, WOULDD NOT
BE A PROPITIOUS FORUM OFOR THE KIND OF MODERATE,
REASONED DEBATE ADVOCATED BY SILVEIRA TO RECONCILE
THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO GROUPS.
(B) EVEN IF THE DC'S WERE TO ACCEPT THE CONCEPT
OF LEGALLY BINDING COMMITMENTS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO
VISUALIZE A NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH WOULD YIELD
REASONABLY PRECISE, OPERATIONALLY MEANINGFUL NORMS,
RATHER THAN BORAD DECLARATORY STATEMENTS, WITHOUT
REQUIRING NEGOTIATION OF MANY OF THE QUESTIONS DEALT WITH IN THE
GATT AND SIMILAR FORA.
(C) THE PROPOSAL WOULD MOST LIKELY PREEMPT THE WORK
OF THE GROUP OF 27 AND THE COMMISSION, BOTH ON
SUBSTANCE AND POLITICALLY, MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR
THE PRESPECTIVE LDC MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE.
RECOMMENDATION: NOTWITHSTANDING THESE PROBLEMS FOR
US POLICY, EMBASSY STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT THE US AVOID
OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION OR A BROADLY NEGATIVE REACTION
TO THE BRAZILIAN INITIATIVE AND THAT OUR RESPONSE BE

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POSITIVE IN TONE BUT NON- COMMITTAL ON SUBSTANCE.
INOUR VIEW, THE US SHOULD SAY THAT THE BRAZILIAN PROPOSAL IS
ONE AMONG MANY IDEAS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, THAT IT
MERITS FULL AND CAREFUL EXAMINATION AT THIS CURRENT SESSION,
THAT IT, OF COURSE, RAISES A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS,
INCLUDING THE PROPOSED FORUM, BUT THAT WE WILL GIVE FURTHER STUDY
BOTH TO ITS SUBSTANCE AND THE PROPOSSED PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.
OUR RECOMMENDATION IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:
(A) BRAZIL, AND THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION, ATTACHES
VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PROPOSAL:
(B) ANYBROAD ATTACK -- AS AGAINST
PARLIAMENTARY MOVES IN THEUNGA TO BLOCK ITS
ACCEPTANCE BY THE DC'S -- WOULD BE SEVERELY RESENTED,
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AND HELP TO LEGITIMIZE THE PROPOSAL IN THE EYES OF THE NON-ALIGNED.
(C) OPEN OPPOSITION AND HOSTILITY BY THE US WOULD
DAMAGE US RELATIONS WITH THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION,
PREJUDICING FURTHER THE DIALOGUE THAT THE USG HAS
BEEN SEEKING TO FOSTER.
CRIMMINS

UNQUOTE. ROBINSON

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# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** TOSEC, POLICIES, LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, SPEECHES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Draft Date:** 02 SEP 1975
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1975STATE208235
**Document Source:** ADS
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** S/S-O: PJOHNSON
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** N/A
**Errors:** n/a
**Film Number:** D750303-0063
**From:** STATE
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t197509103/baaaaaiq.tel
**Line Count:** 245
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
**Office:** ORIGIN SS
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 5
**Previous Channel Indicators:**
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** n/a
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Authority:** GarlanWA
**Review Comment:** n/a
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 22 APR 2003
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review History:** RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <13 MAY 2003 by GarlanWA>
**Review Markings:**

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**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Referrals:** n/a
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** n/a
**TAGS:** PFOR, BR, UNGA, (AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA, ANTONIO F)
**To:** SECRETARY
**Type:** TE
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006